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PARTY ACTIVITIES

Reports on oblast, rayon and city Farty conferences, all of them preliminaries to the 19th Party Congress, predominate the broadcasts on Party life. The ostensible purpose of these conferences is "to promote the discussion of materials" (razvivat obsuzhdenie materialov) contained in the revised Farty Statute which is to be considered by the Congress early in October. As mentioned in the previous CPW report, however, such discussions are invariably preceded by an "unanimous approval" (edinodushnoye odobrenie) of the proposed Statute by the conference, occasionally followed by suggestions of minor changes in the phraseology of minor clauses. The actual purpose of the mentioned Party meetings, it appears, is a last minute stock-taking of latraparty vices and virtues, achievements and failings presumably to be used for the guidance of the forthcoming Congress. The occasion is undoubtedly used also for another attempt to stemp out corruption, nepotism and related malpractices within the Party, and to weed out such Communist officials who permit them. Regional radio and gress criticism of shortcomings in cadre training, contact with the masses (svyax s messami), self-criticism and intraparty democracy is repeated with relentiess monotomy in anticipation of the announced but as yet little publicized structural changes in the Party. So heavy is the pressure on the Party conferences to find and criticize shortcosings, that regional papers referring to conferences to be held often provide a hint of what is expected of them: "The oblast conference ... will discover shortcomings and mistakes ... and will find ways to improve the work" (KIROVOGRADSKA PRAVDA editorial, 10 September).

Personnel Training and Distribution—Referring to the current oblast Party conferences in the Ukraine, National Meraina (5 September) says that one of the major tasks still facing the Party is the introduction of the merit system in the training, selection and appointment of Communist personnel. Party officials everywhere must bear in mind that only "politic and business qualificatione" (politychny i dilovy yakosti) must govern the selection of leadership of leadership. That such considerations are often slighted is evident from the reports coming in from Kirovograd, Kiev and other oblast Farty conferences revealing a variety of shortcomings traceable to incompetent and conferences revealing a variety of shortcomings traceable to incompetent personny, says Eurtymin in PRAVDA (8 September), is the difference between a paper directive and a job well done. This was brought out at a recent Party conference in Leningrad when the last of attention to the officials of the lower or primary Party organizations is said to have resulted in an enormous "fluidity" (tehuchest) of the cadres. The last "reporting and election meeting" (otchetno-vybornoye sobranie) held in that district a Multime short time and replaced by others whose qualifications are presumably still doubtful.

Improve the selection, distribution and training of leading cadres, says STALINSKOYE ZNAMYA editorially on 9 September, and most of the Party ills will be cured. Referring to the recent Ryazan team Party conference, the paper speaks approvingly of the resolution carried at this conference stating that what the Party needs is thorough organizational and political reconstruction and a revision of its cadre-training policy. Ryazan's industrial expansion, it is claimed, has emphasized the need for more and better qualified Gommanist personnel, and the town Party has apparently been unable to adequately cope with the situation. A report from Tbilisi (9 September) quotes a message to Stalin from the Tbilisi town Party conference published by KOMMUNISTY and ZARYA VOSTOKA. Here, at the most of the broadcasts emanating from Georgia, every instance of Farty corruption and mismanagement is invariably blamed on the "vicious methods" (porochule nery) of the former Central Committee and former Party leadership in general. Even the unsaticfactory cadre-training at present is somehow construed as a "heritage of the past" when "mistakes leading to political corruption" in every field of Party activity were overlooked by the former Communist officials.

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A great deal of "severe and justified" criticism is being heard at the current oblest Party conferences in Kanakh SSR, according to KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA (10 September). The education and selection of personnel for executive Party posts, says the paper, must "occupy the center of attention" of every Party organization but it is precisely this important phase of the work that is so often neglected. In Kokchetav Oblast, for example, "people unworthy of trust" (ludi nedostolnie doveria) have been selected and appointed to positions of leadership within the Farty. The personnel situation in the other oblasts of the Republic is not much better, according to the paper, since "Bolinevik principles" guiding the selection of politically-qualified cadres are largely diaragerded.

A broadcast from Miew of 1: September speaks briefly of the "serious mistakes" uncovered in the training of cadres at the Miev Oblist Farty conference, but offers no details. The elaboration of the conference's proceedings is left to RADYANSKA UKRAINA which treats the subject of Party and other personnel in two consecutive editorials (12 and 13 September). The personnel-training program in the cultural field, says the paper (12 September) in as old, if not vorse, than in the political school network: "there exists an incremely unhealthy turnover among cultural education workers." Nearly one-third of the optice personnel is said to have been changed last year slone. Some Party and Soviet leaders, the paper complains, "still adhere to the harmful view" that even semiliterate persons can be employed in cultural and education work. This is borne out by the fact test

more from one-half of the workers of the rural clubs, realing rooms and libraries have not completed even general secondary education, law alone any specialization.

In some rayons or Volkys, Boyns and Transcarpathian Dolasts, it is pointed out, experienced club and library were as are shifted to different jobs with the approval of the rayon Party Committees and replaced by "persons unfit for this work." The paper is also dismayed to learn that "not a single educational astablishment in the Ukraine" is training personnel specialized in the verious branches of cultural education. Now have they established a "material base," that is a physical plant, for such training since "the provises of most of the special and other schools have not been adapted to the necessary learnestion processes."

Pursuing the personnel them on the next day (13 September), the paper suggests the best Bolshevik met) is a selecting candidates for succitive positions: "first for their political means and except for their business abilities..." This, it adds, does not mean thet a business differ approach should be replaced by a business of approach (the znachty ne representative abilities of workers but do not bother about their political outlook, and it is the reverse in numerous other cases where political background is all that counts. Neither of these criteria is to be considered as "ultimate" (kintseviy), the upper refterates, since the right kind of Communist or Soviet official must combine political loyalty and recentive ability. Referring to the recent Depropetrovsk Othest and lower Party conferences, the editorial speaks in disparaging terms of the "oracle violations of the Folshevik principles of cadre selection" revealed at those meetings. Instances of transferring "unmistakably bankrupt leaders" from one rayon to another just to keep them in executive positions are not uncommon in the oblast. Communist Velichenko, for example, has been shifted from one post to another "despite the well known fact" that this woeful leader (gore-kerivayk) had repeatedly compromised hisself, broken away from the masses and turned into a bureaucrat. Similar failings are imputed to the loop Oblast Farty Committee. It was disclosed at its recent conference that more than a third of the oblast Party officials had been changed for unexplained reasons "during the accountability period."

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KIROVOTRADSKA PRAVIA also devotes two editorials (10 and 13 September) to a discussion of the oblast's personnel problems which, it says, are aggravated by "insufficient attention" to them on the part of the Party. The political education of the propagandist cadres by the Kirovograd cown Party is unsatisfactory, while in Rovnyanskiy, Malo-Vyskovskiy Kamenskiy and other rayons the propagandists are left largely unsuperviced and this negligence is reflected in their work. The one and two months courses opened for propagandists, political school heads and others in the oblasts "are not enough," the paper declares. Nothing short of continuous aid "throughout the education year" will improve the political and cadre situation in the oblast.

What inadequately-trained Party leadership may lead to is cited by PRAVDA (15 September) in the case of Newyansk town Party Committee. The delegates to its recent conference pointed out that the Committee overlooked the fact that

the management of the automobile works permitted the anti-State practice of falsely recording higher output and taking unfinished swiemobiles off the conveyer belt.

Russian version:

rukovoditeli avtozavoda dopuskali uniigosudarstvennuyu praktiku pripisyvania k gotovoy produktsii, vypuckali s konveyera nekomplektnie avtomashluy.

Complaints of a similar nature, though less specific, are reported also by SEVERNAYA PRAVDA (13 September) and by Sadovskiy in RADYANSKA UKRAINA (10 September, not broadcast).

Party Contest. With the Masses is the Soviet exphemism for propaganda and political lectures for the masses. Theoretically, the primary Party organizations are considered the main link between the Party and the population at large, but actually it is the duty of all Communist officials to be in contact" with the people and see that they get their minimum dose of political enlightenment at regular intervals. Preaking away from the masses (otryv of mass, says FRAVDA editorially on 5 September, is universally condemned in our country, and this practice is all the more reprehensible in the light of the revised Party Statute which calls for closer contact with the masses. Referring to the current mation wide discussion of Farty activities, the paper hints that this aspect of Communist life will require a great deal of looking into at the forth-oring Party Congress, since an too any instances the gap between the Party members and the masses is too wide. The tendency of Communist officials to isolate themselves from the people goes hand in hand with "boassing, unjustified pride and conceit" (zaznaistvo, samomnenie, chycolives), all qualities upworthy of Communist workers:

Severely criticized (at the current conferences) are those leaders who forget their primary duty of strengthening daily the contacts with the masses, who break away from the masses and no longer listen to their voice. Unfortunately, one still comes across such esses.

Russian version:

Surrovoy kritika podvergayutaya te rukovoditeli, kotorie zabyvayut o svpey proveishey zadache -- povsednevno ukreplyat svyazi s massami, otryvayutava ot mass, perestayut priklushivatsya k ikh golosu. A otdelnie fakty takogo roda, k sozhaleniu, eshehe vstrechayutaya.

The Smolensk Party conference, for example, nade it known that the rayon Party secretaries of the city had messaged to break away from both the primary Party organizations

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under their jurisdiction and the masses at the same time. Quoting a report from Alma Ata, the paper says that not a single official of the town Party Committee has spoken to the Kirov plant workers this year despite directives from higher Party levels outlining a series of lectures to be delivered at the plant. The Party, the editorial concludes, demands (trebuyet) that every Communist do his share of political work among the masses by explaining to them the meaning (raz'yasnyal im smysl) of domestic and international events.

Of some interest is a RADYANSKA WERAINA article by Zakotyanskiy (3 September, not broadcast) purporting to show what happens to the masses when their contact with the Party is not close enough. The story is told of a certain "swindler, embezzler and thief" (shakhrai, raztratnyk i razkradach) Zhuravskiy who was appointed by the Odessa Party Committee to an executive position in the city's cooperative system despite his known reputation for dishonesty. It has now transpired that the new official and his "loyal" assistant Dekhtyar

are collecting monthly bribes from practically every retail sales oublet of from 150 to 300 rubles. In addition, bribes amounting to 200 to 250 rubles spince are received from the artels for the marketing of finished products. Those who refuse to pay bribes are threatened with the loss of their job, and are thereby forced into crimes.

Ukrainian text:

maizhe z kochnoi torgovelnoy techki shchomisyatsa zbyrayut khabari v rozmiri vid 150 do 300 krb. Z kozhnoi artili okremo bermtsys khabari i za zbut vygotovlennoy produktsii v rozmiri 200-250 krb. A tym, khto ne khoche davaty khabariv zsgrozhuyut znyaty z roboty, shtevkhayut na pryamiy zlochym.

This Soviet version of "protection maney" collected by the above-named officials is, according to Zakotyanskiy, not as uncommon as might be supposed since many a swindler is said to find it easy "to get away with it" for a long time. Zhuravskiy, it is claimed, is still in office, receiving 790 rubles a month, but spending thousands, maintaining a summer home at the seashore and otherwise living in the lap of luxury.

Another instance of corrupt leadership which has lost contact with the masses as well as rank-and-file Communists is highlighted by RADYANSKA UKRAINA (10 September) in the case of Sambor town Farty, Drogobych Oblast. Party secretary Slabchuk is reported to have piled up such an impressive regord of failings and shady machinations that he would have been exposed long ago had the Party bothered to look into his case. But lacking close contact with the primary organizations, the broad masses of the people and intelligentsia, the paper goes on, the Drogobych Oblast Party is simply unable to scrutinize properly his activities. There is no specific reference to the blunders this official is said to have committed beyond the paper's concluding remark that

this ill-starred leader has lost the dignity of the Party worker, is committing crude political errors in his work, ignoring the demands of rank-and-file Communists and selecting caires on the basis of friendship and personal devotion. He has been chumny with people of questionable political loyalty, conseals thieves of State funds, incites flattering and suppresses criticism from below.

Ukrainian version:

they gore-kerivnik vtratyv hidnist partiynogo pratsivnyka, dopuskaye grubi polytichny powylky v svoii roboti, ignoruye vymogy ryadovykh komunistiv, dobyraye kadriv za oznakoyu pryyatelskykh vodnosyn i osobystoi viddanosti. Vin zzhyvsya z ludmy, yaki ne vyklykayut politychnogo dovirya, pokryvaye rozkradachiv derzhavnykh koshtiv, nasadzhuye pidlabuznytstvo, glushyt krytyku znyzu.

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Passing reference to Farty-masses contact, in context of production shortcomings, is made in a RADYANSKA UKRAINA editorial broadcast on 5 September. The Kharkov town Farty committee recently criticized itself and the oblast committee for neglecting one of the major Communist duties, the political education of the masses: "Members of the committees very seldom read political lectures to the workers." Conferences, sessions, directives and memoranda are no substitutes for actual work among the masses, says CHERNOMORSKA KOMUNA editorially on 10 September, referring to the Odessa Oblast Party conference. Many Party and Soviet officials, particularly in the rural areas, "still fail to understand" that everything now depends on the organizational and political work among the masses. (No names of people or localities are mentioned, nor is there any explanation offered as to why everything depends on the work among the masses now more than at any other time.)

Intraparty Democracy Self-Oriticism The dictatorial practices of high Communist officials, curhemistically referred to as "administrative varie" (literally, administration mengerisg), and said to be the bane of the Party's life. Fear and suppression of criticism and the pensistent reluctance to solf-criticism are discussed in the same context. Sharply criticized in this connection also is the high-handed treatment accorded to the primary Party organizations, also known as "the voice from below," which are just one step above the masses and constitute the "chief link" between them and the Party.

Intraparty democracy, says PRAVDA on 11 September quoting Lenin and Stalin, calls for a rigid adherence to Party discipline, on the one hand, and free and unfettered discussion of Party offairs by all members, on the other. The violation of either one of these conditions, therefore, defeats the purpose of "democracy in action" (demokratizm v deistvii). It is regrettable, says the paper, that rank-and-file Communists are not always given a chance to participate in plenary discussions or make their opinions heard on various laggest affecting Party activities. That this evil is usually traceable to high-handed officially, the editorial continues, is evident from the reports on the oblast Party conferences now held throughout the country:

We still have such leaders, however, who...employ victious methods of work, violate intraparty democracy and do not listen to the voice of the masses. They exponently believe in the existence of two degrees of intraparty discipline, one for rank-and-file members and another one for leaders.

Russian version:

Vztrechayuteya, odnako, takie rukovoditeli, kotorie... rabotayut pomochnymi metodami, narushayut vnutripartiynuyu demokratiu, ne prislushivayutsya k golosu mass. Oni nepravilno pelagayut, chto budto by u nas v partii imeyetsya dve distsipliny-odna dlay zyadovykh chlenov, drugaya -- dlya rukovoditeley.

Intolerable manifestations of the "haughty attitude" (barskoye predstavlenie) of certain officials toward intraparty democracy are reported to have been revealed at recent rayon Party conferences of Irkutsk, Kalinin, Novosibirsk and other oblasts.

In many of those places Farty meetings are seldom called, and rank-and-file members have little to do with the running of Party affairs. Similar shortcomings have been uncovered at the Melitopol and Thyanovsk town Party conferences. In the latter town, particularly, the Party secretary himself is said to be the worse offender: he simply "terminated his relations with the Communists." (perestal obshchatsya s kommunistami).

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A liberal attitude toward the suppressors of criticism (liberalnoye othoshenie k glushitelyam kritiki) is said to characterize the behavior of some Khabarovek city Party officials, according to an Ostarenko dispatch of 10 September (not broadcast). This attitude, in fact, appears to be gaining popularity among the local officials some of whom even try to clothe it in a pseudo-legal garb. Thus the chairman of the Executive Committee who is also a member of the city's Party bureau stated that

at the rayon Party conference the first secretary of the rayon committee must not criticize the chairman of the rayon Executive Committee, and the latter, in turn, should refrain from criticizing the secretary. For such criticism the secretary have an adverse effect on their mutual relations and the work.

Russian version:

ne sleduyet na rayomboy partiynoy konferentsii pervomu secretaryu raykoma kritikovat predsedatelya rayispolkoma, a tomu v svoyu ocherek i sekretarya raykoma. Eto, mol, budet otritashelme skanyvetaya na ikh vasimootnocheniakh i na rabote.

The suppression of criticism smong city officials, the author asserts, has taken a variety of forms. In most cases, however, the criticized officials promise "to consider the remarks" (uchest remarks) addressed to them from below, but as soon as the conference is over they proceed to must the critical under some flimsy pretext or another. This happened in the case of the krai chief of "Glavtorchermet" Kotov who within a single year replaced more than half of his staff, penalizing many of them.

Activities of arbitrary Communist officials are instanced also in a Pogodin article in PRAVDA (10 September) or the Stalingrad city Farty conference. The resistance to intraparty democracy in that town is seen in the thorough intimidation of actual and would-be critics: "people are removed from their posts and not given a chance to defend themselves before the party organization" (luney animayet a postov, ne day in vormorphosti otchityvatsya pered partiyacy organizatsicy). Bablyak in RADYANSKA UKRAINA (10 September) says that there appears to be no restriction on the suppression of criticism and "assistance to criminals" (gidtrymka zlochyntsyam) in Intsk. Indeed Communist officials there have become so brazen that

the slightest attempt to criticize from below is construed as an endeavor 'to split the monolithic unity,' to undermine the authority of the leadership and so forth.

Ukrainian version:

naymenshi erroby krytyky snyzu tut roztsinuvelys yak namegennya 'rozkoloty monolitnyi kolektyv', yak pidryv avtorytetu kerivnytetva i t.d.

The Lutsk town Party Committee, it is pointed cut, is aware of most of the shortcomings within the organizations under its purisdiction but fails to do anything about them. It has been warned also that "a gang of embezzlers of socialist property" (zgraya rozkradachiv sotsialistychnov viasnosti) is doing a thriving business in the city's brick-making plants, but apparently no steps are being taken to apprehend them. The Lutsk Communist officials, Bablyak believed are blinded by the illusory successes (mnimy uspikhy) of the plants, and in their anxiety to keep up the illusion have even "frequently taken these criminals under their protection" (neridko braly tsikh zlochyntsiv pid sviy sakhist).

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In a short unsigned article published on 12 September and not broadcast, 1RAVDA takes issue with PRAVDA UKRAINY for its peculiar attitude toward intraparty democracy. Most of the criticism published by that paper, says PRAVDA, somehow happens to be directed "from the top downward" (swerkhu vniz), while critical material addressed to oblast and higher levels of the Party and Covernment is seldom given any space. Some of the newspaper's correspondents are said to be keeping away from "acutely controversial themes" (strie kriticheskie temy) altogether.

Appeals for more attention to the primary Party organizations are contained in reports published in RADYANSKA UKRAINA (7 September) and FRAVDA (9 September). Chernovets Oblast and Krasnoyersk city Party Committees are rebuked for their "utter disregard" of those organizations which binders the cause of intraparty democracy.

IDEOLOGY

Ideological questions, like most of the topics discussed on the radio and in the press in the past three weeks, are treated in context of the anticipated deliberations of the 19th Party Congress. FRATDA still devotes much space to reactions to the revised Party Statute and urges the rest of the Soviet press to follow its example. What looks like a modicum of free discussion of the proposed Statute is seen in some conflicting proposels published in the letter-to-the-editor section of the paper which came out in another of its rare six-page issues on 14 September.

As mentioned in the previous CFW report, a Vorosmilovgrad worker took exception to the wording of the paragraph defining eligibility for membership in the Communist Party. He suggested the deletion of the sentence "any worker who does not exploit someone else's labor, "for since exploitation in the USSR has been eliminated such wording becomes irrelevant and subject to wrong interpretation. The LP September issue of the paper carries a reply to the mentioned proposal from two students of the Higher Party School attached to the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party. The suggestion to delete the word "exploitation", they say, 1 Wrong and utterly unfounded. The revised Party Statute consolidates the achievements made under the Stalin constitution and is therefore justified in referring to them in the same phraseology. Moreover, the paragraph under discussion, they affirm, contain far reaching implications and should therefore be left intent:

Nor should to be forgotten that this thesis will be of enormous significance for the fraternal Communist Parties which are and will be learning from the experience of our Party.

Russian text:

Welzys reby at takrhe i o tom, onto eto polochenie budet imet ogromove znachenie dlya bratskikh kommunisticheskikh partity, kotorie uchatsya i budut uchitsya na opyte nashey partii.

A letter from Akhmedeyev of Alma Ata states that the proposed charter is not specific enough in its treatment of the friendship-of-peoples theme. The Statute, he points out, should make it obligatory for every Party member and candidate to work for the further consolidation of friendship between the various nationalities of the USSR. This, it is suggested, could be schieved only by the introduction of the following definition into the appropriate paragraph:

"...every manifestation of chauvinist and bourgeois-nationalist views is incompatible with membership in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which is an international Party."

Russian text:

"... vzyakove proyavlenie shovinisticheskikh i burzhuaznonatzionalisticheskikh vzglyadov nesovmestimo s prebyvaniem v ryadakh Kommunisticheskov partii Sovetskogo Soyuza, yavlyaushcheisya internatzionalisticheskov partiey."

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Of some interest in the otherwise limited discussions of ideological topics is a FRAVDA report from Kishinev (7 September) on the recent plenary session of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party. Having administered a mild rebuke to the Central Committee "for underestimating ideological work" (za nedootsenku ideologicheskoy raboty), the delegates are said to have shown less moderation in the treatment of the Republic's writers, literary critics and historians. The idealization of the past (idealization proshlogo), it is claimed, is still a common feature of Moldavian literature. Another intimation that Moldavia's history is undergoing revision is contained in the charges leveled at writer Bereznyakov some of whose "confusing articles" (putannie stat'i) reiterate the bourgeois lies about an alleged "golden age" (zolotoy vek) in the past history of Moldavia. Other and no less serious errors are said to have been committed by the same writer in his monograph of "The Capture of Ressarabis by Rumania in 1918," but the nature of those mistakes is not disclosed. Levit's articles on "The Looting and Destruction of Moldavia by the Germen-Fascist Occupationists in 1941-1944" as well as numerous accounts by other authors of the South Urrainian guerrilla movement during the Civil War also contain "serious errors."

Bukov and many other unnamed writers, the session disclosed, do not seem overly perturbed about their erroneous works and show no anxiety about revising them. Others have been refraining from reviewing newly-published books "for fear of spoiling relations with their authors" (dety ne isportit othersheniy sikh autorami). Derelletion of duty is imputed also to the Republican Society for the Propagation of Political and Scientifica Moduledge; most of its lectures and reports appear in the Russian language, and only "very selded" (kraine redko) in Moldavian. Disparaging reference is made to the ideological activities of the Composers Union, the Moldavian branch of the Academy of Sciences and the social sciences departments of the universities, but no details are offered.

A Chernichenk: dispatch to PRAVDA (3 September, not broadcast) tells of the continuing ideological shortcomings revealed at the latest conference of the Kiev town Party conference. The work of the Nrivers Union is found to be improving extremely slowly (kraine medienno), and the "Tamily circle atmosphere" (semeistvennost) among the writers has not yet een eliminated. Still unratisfactory (eshehe neudovietvoritelnie) are the activities of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and the Kiev Theatre of Opera and Pallet. Occasional "relapses into bourgeois-nationalism and cosmopolitanism" (retaidivy bourghussnogo natsionalism a knomopolitizma) are still noted in the activities of the Academy's Institute of Literature. The recently-published second volume of Stefanik's works, containing favorable references to the "worst enemies of the Ukrainian people" (rleishie vragi ukrainskogo narods) the bourgeois nationalists, is said to have been passed by the Institute's editors without a single change.

MISCELLANEOUS

A proadcast from Kiev for the provincial press (9 September) says that an apparatus for inducing "electro-anesthesia" (elektroson) and capable of anesthetizing six persons simultaneously has been built by the Bogomolets Institute of Biology and Pathology. Electrodes placed on the patient's head carry a special current which is said to calm the cells of the central negrous system.

The importance of vigilarde against spies and subversives is emphasized in a trosicast for junior school children (Kiev, 11 September), commemorating the 75th anniversary of the death of Dzerzhinskiy, the first head of the Soviet secret service (cheka). The story called "An Accident" is spout a Red Army soldier who saw a young woman drop a package which looked like a bund of letters. "Callantly" picking up those "letters" to hand them back to the owner, he discovered that they were really highly secret plans of the Red Force defense lines. The patrict-soldier turned the woman over to Dzerzhinsky's "cheka" which eventually identified her as a French emigre heading a spy ring for counterrevolutionary forces.

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